1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Neeli 'l-kilani le-'ŋgorōyōni, neishop, neishori em-þukuri naripakino 'seghera 'matwan pōkin. Neitanapi eng-orioŋg, neriki eng-aŋg o-'l-móruo lenye, nerubare ol-móruo, oo 'l-tuŋganak aare 'l-chorueta lenyena, oo 'n-gitunak are e-'ng-aŋg e-'ŋgorōyōni.

Nemesiōyo, erikitoi elo akiti oo metabai. Ore pe ebaiki, neishori en-gerai, neitōti.

After the bride's wedding-garments have been oiled, she puts them on, and is given a gourd which has been ornamented with cowries. This is put on her back, and she is taken by her husband, who is accompanied by two of his friends and two of the old women from his bride's kraal, to her future home.

She does not hurry but walks very slowly until she reaches her husband's kraal, where a child is given her to feed.

585

Ten eiyam ol-móruo e-ŋgorōyōni, nemeipot eng-arna enye, amu torono. Eduŋgōki se-arna. Enyor naleŋg aipotye eng-arna o-'l-poror lenye, anaa 'N-oo-'Bture.

When a man marries, it is considered unlucky if he calls his wife by her name. He must give her another name. A favourite method is to call her by the age to which she belongs, thus, The (woman) of the Boure age.

551 593 777 [561]

Ten eata ol-tuŋgani oo-'l-Maasae 'n-giabu kumok, neidim aiyama 'ŋgorōyok kumok. Etii kulikae ociyam 'ŋgorōyok are, ana uni, ana oŋgwan; kake eiyam il-karsiai, ten eiyōe, tomon ana tigitim.

If a Masai owns large herds of cattle he is able to marry many wives. Some have two wives, others three, and others four; whilst if rich men wish, they may have as many as ten or twenty.

595

Ten eiyam ol-Maasani kat'-are araki kat'-uni, neisho en-gitok enye eng-aini ol-sabe, naa ninye eimalye eng-aini ajo Þaashe.

When a Masai marries for the second or third time, his first wife gives the new wife a calf, after which they call one another Paashe, i. e. the giver and receiver of a calf.

595 431

Meidim il-Maasae aiyama 'ŋgorōyok e-'ng-aji enye ten eiani to-'l-osho ōbo, kake eidim aiyama 'ŋgorōyok e-'n-giahōni enye, neidim aiyama 'ŋgorōyok e-'ng-ae-kiahōni.

No Masai may marry a woman belonging to the same sub-division as himself if both families live in the same district, but he may marry a woman of his own clan or one belonging to another clan.

582

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Kitala.

593 Ten ĕar il-Maasa 'ŋgurŏyok enye, etii naapwo kitala, netii naaŋgiri, nemapwo.

Ten ĕar ol-mŏruo e-ŋgurŏyŏni, naipiri alo kitala, naa ten neme kitok-tĕki eitaruciye, nelo eng-aji o-'l-poror lo-'l-mŏruo lenye.

Ore pe eriku lido idye-ŋgurŏyŏni naabŏmo kitala, nemeitĕki ol-openy aar, amu [626] ĕure lido-taŋgani lo-'l-poror lenye medek.

Naa, ten eitaruo e-ŋgurŏyŏni en-dĕki kitok, p' eiyŏlŏu ajo ĕari, nelo eng-aŋ e-menye, naiabori en-gitaŋ naltŏu [431] e-ŋgurŏyŏni aaniye ol-mŏruo lenye.

The refuge[1].

If the Masai men beat their wives, some go and seek refuge elsewhere, whilst others suffer and stop at home.

Should a husband beat his wife, but not badly, she will seek refuge in the house of a member of her husband's age.

When the man with whom she has taken refuge returns her to her owner, the latter does not beat her again, for he fears that he will be cursed by the members of his age.

If a woman commits a serious crime, and knows that she will be beaten in consequence, she goes to her father's kraal, and is given an ox, which she takes to her husband and begs forgiveness.

En-gĭa.

764 Ten ĕi ol-taŋgani loo-'l-
551 Maasa, neiturŭari ten a en-
gurŭi, arŭki ol-murŭani, arŭki
e-ŋgurŏyŏni; nenŭki eng-arua
loo-'l-taŋgunak lenye.

Ore ten etii en-dĕki naipotyeki inna-arua, naiabori aa-arua nemenyikita en-e-'ido ĕina.

Ore ten ĕi ol-taŋgani oti aji Ol-tuaua, nemaipot te-'ŋgaŋ e-menye en-nanai amu [526]

Death.

On the death of a child, or a warrior, or a woman amongst the Masai, the body is thrown away[2], and the person's name is buried, i.e. it is never again mentioned by the family.

Should there be anything which is called by that name, it is given another name which is not like that of the deceased.

For instance, if an unimportant person called Ol-tuaua (he who is soft, or weak, or gentle) were to die.

[1] Divorce appears to be unknown amongst the Masai.

[2] The body is always taken to the west of the kraal, towards the setting sun. It is laid on the left side with the head towards the north, so that the face looks towards the east. The legs are drawn up to the chest, the left hand supports the head, and the right arm is folded across the breast. [423]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

tive unit, and class, leaders are carefully selected and practically trained. It is from the outstanding senior members of the class, i. e. from those who have come to the fore since the very beginning, that leaders, whatever their function in Masai society, emerge.

The messengers (*ol asasi* – message) wear warriors' garments and decorations but no arms. "Their quest is a peaceful one" (WHITEHOUSE). "

Only two of the deputation will be introduced to the class-leader (*oiguenan*) by some of the elders. The message is delivered on behalf of all class candidates to the leader with some presents of honey. The matter is discussed by the leader and his council, and the messengers are advised of the date for the feast.

It is at this point that, according to WHITEHOUSE, *Endungore* is performed.

The ceremony is started by a dance (*Esapkata*) in full array " followed by a prayer to God (*Ngai Narok* – the black God) for the candidates. The elders then take the candidates apart and instruct them on their duties towards the elders and their seniors generally. As soon as this is over, a fire-stick, a male circumcision knife, and a small dead bird (other than a dove) are produced. The elders break the stick, pierce the eyes of the bird and break its legs, and lay a curse on the knife. " In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new agegroup. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il Piron* whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-Piron* " (WHITEHOUSE). Indeed, it should be noted, as FOSBROOKE points out, that though the term *il piron* is frequently used with reference to the elders, it is a reciprocal term expressing a mutual relationship.

The symbolism of the *Endungore* ceremony is plain: the ceremony closes an initiation period.

When the *Endungore* is over, some of the elders (presumably the *oiguenani*) and three or four of the candidates go with presents to inform the prophet that the firesticks have been broken. They say – *Ol piron lang ole, kiro nale.* "This is our fire stick, we are one", which probably means that a new firestick is used to produce

" It is exact how whether the number of boy messengers is fixed. LAMBERT states that the usual boys number from six to twelve, HOBLEY [illegible], FOSBROOKE 5. Probably no significance is attached to the actual figure.

" These rows are formed, each distinguished by proper decorations, the first wears ostrich feathers, the second wears lion-mane head-dresses, and all the members of the third have their bodies decorated with white stripes.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL.12 Masai FL.12

601

	System of indirectly.	Addressed directly.	Remarks.
Husband's sister Husband's half-sister	*-nindoni* ...	*par-nindoni* or *-nindoni ai*.	
Husband's brother's wife	*-nindoni* ...	*par-nindoni* or *-nindoni ai*.	
Son's wife ...	*-ng-goroi* ...	*-n-dorai*.	
Daughter's husband	*ol-ngoloni* (man); *ang-ngoloni* (woman).	*ol-ngoloni loi* (man); *ang-ngoloni ai* (woman).	
Brother's wife ...	*-nindoni -ang-ai* (man); *-nindoni* (woman).	*par-nindoni* or *-nindoni ai*.	
Half-brother's wife	*-nindoni* ...	*par-nindoni* or *-nindoni ai*.	
Sister's husband ...	*ol-ngoloni* (man or boy); *-nindoni le-ngai* (girl or woman).	*ol-ngoloni loi*; *par-nindoni* or *-nindoni loi*.	
Brother's son Half-brother's son	*ol-ngoloi, -ng-goroi* ...	*-ne-nye*.	
Brother's daughter Half-brother's daughter	*-n-dito, -ng-goroi* ...	*-ne-daughter*.	
Sister's son ... Half-sister's son	*ol-ngoloi, -ng-goroi* ...	*-ne-nye*.	
Sister's daughter Half-sister's daughter	*-n-dito, -ng-goroi* ...	*-ne-daughter*.	

When listening to Masai talking to one another it would often appear as if many of the terms of relationship used were the same as names of cattle, sheep, goats, and donkeys, etc. This is chiefly due to the fact that whenever a woman is brought into the family by marriage it is customary for her husband's relations and their wives to give her an animal to show that she is recognized as a member of the family. The giver and the recipients ever afterwards call one another after the animal which has been given, to which the particle *pe* is prefixed.

601
431
[515]

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

Thus, a man gives his brother's wife or his paternal uncle's wife, or his paternal uncle's son's wife a cow, a calf, or a lamb, and the terms of address used by the two, instead of being *par-ninkwa* or *papa*, as the case may be, are *pa-kitoky*, *pa-roko*, or *pa-ropon*; a father-in-law gives his daughter-in-law a calf, and the two call one another *pa-roko*; and a paternal uncle gives his nephew's wife a she-goat and calls her *pa-kitoi*. Similarly a man's first wife usually presents each successive wife with a calf on her marriage, and instead of using the term *nentoi* when speaking to one another the two women say *pa-roko*; a woman gives her husband's brother's wife a donkey as a wedding present, and the two women call one another *pa-nighirio*; and a mother-in-law selects a cow for her daughter-in-law some months after marriage, when she has learnt to keep house for her husband, and the form of address is *pa-kitoky*. This method of address is carried even further, and is used between men of the same family. A father, for instance, usually gives his son a bull when the boy is eight or nine years of age, and the two call one another *pa-ninghiri* (instead of *papa* and *ti-ngiri*); a paternal uncle makes a similar present to his nephew, and the same form of address is used; an elder brother gives his younger brother a heifer, and the two call one another *pa'a-dunye*; and paternal cousins often use the terms *pa-ere* or *pa-nerupuk* when talking to each other.

The following terms are found: *pa-kitoky*, the bullock or the cow; *pa-nerkyi*, the bullock; *pa-kitoi*, the cows; *pa-ninghiri*, the bull; *pa'a-dunye*, the heifer; *pa-kitoiyeri*, the bull calf; *pa-roko*, the calf; *pa-kwa*, *pa-ere*, or *pa-nitwa*, the he-goat; *pa-kitoi*, the she-goat; *pa-kitoiki*, the kid; *pa-kere*, the ewe; *pa-nerupuk*, the ram; *pa-nighirio*, the donkey; *pa-ropon*, the ewe lamb; *pa-ere*, the twin kids.

With one exception, a present of this nature is not made, nor are these terms of address used, outside the father's family. Thus, a brother cannot give his sister a heifer so that the two might call one another *pa'a-dunye*, because if the sister marries she will leave the family; a paternal uncle cannot give his nephew a bull and call him *pa-ninghiri*, and maternal cousins may not address one another by the terms *pa-ere*, etc. The exception to this rule is made when a man marries. He then presents his father-in-law with a bullock and his mother-in-law with an ewe, and the terms of address are *pa-kitoky* and *pa-kere*. These presents have nothing to do with the cattle paid for the bride.

A maternal uncle (*il-ngoi*) exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die. He can at any time stop a fight in which one of his nephews is engaged by merely calling on his nephew to desist, as the nephew would be afraid of his right arm withering if he were to disobey. This power is to a certain extent reciprocal, and if a man were to start beating his wife he would have to stop if his maternal nephew ordered him to do so. A father and any old man of the family can also usually stop a fight by telling the combatants to desist, but they are not customarily listened to. A mother has more influence, and if her son refuses to obey her, she strikes her stomach and says, "You were born in this"; whereupon the son is said to shiver, and can only recover when his mother makes a rope of fibre which she hangs round his neck.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

727 [421] the property of the successful warriors. A warrior can have no property, and hence they all become his father's.

The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—these being considered worthy of all praise "who rush into the field, and foremost fighting *fall*;" while men who die ignobly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

698 In this manner, Morau saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kambani, Galla-land, the Coast region, Sóik, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

669 Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilised fashion. Sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilised countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal unrest. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken.)

522 186 As a mild relief, and a variation from these serious matters, it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Morau to "draw the badger" in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub "donkeys," in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had frightened this one out of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull of a third into jelly. The sausage and the beads he re-

431

6:Thomson K.3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ceived from the traders, he, of course, did not keep 423
himself, but divided among his sweethearts of the kraal.

And so with war and women, life passed in happy fashion. 157
His demeanour was serious, and his expression harsh, though he acquired an aristocratic humour truly striking. He showed curiosity in a dignified manner. He rarely indulged in vulgar laughter, and smiling was hardly possible on a face which could only be called fiendish.

He passed some twenty years in this manner. At last his 764
father was found to be on the point of death, and he was 885
sent for. Shortly after his arrival, the old man succumbed.

[301]
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[543]

SAN CHRISTOPH, HARRIED WOMAN.

It was not thought necessary to recognise this ceremony by 423
ceremonies in any way whatever, and therefore Moran lost no time in picking up the corpse and throwing it outside the kraal. Next morning, he smiled grimly as on going out, he kicked aside some freshly-picked bones, and glanced at some disgusting hyænas slinking away, in company with carrion-birds, while vultures flapped greedily overhead.

He was now sole heir of his father's lands, for his younger 423
brethren did not receive a single head of cattle, though they 885
had captured in their raids considerable numbers of them. Any they might secure now, however, would be their own property. Moran decidedly preferred the free and easy life of 885
the warrior's kraal, but, alas! he discovered, not that he was

is called an *el amal*. The boys may carry knives for defence but not spears, for it is said that a spear is a sign of force, and their quest is a peaceful one. Each boy must carry a bow, for the bow is a token of peace. Furthermore it ensures that any reasonable request the boys may make during the *el amal* will be granted. No Masai may refuse the request of one who carries a bow in his hand. The boys take no arrows with them. They visit all the principal villages and in dance and song they announce the object of their visit. They then seek out all the bigger boys of the village and add them to their number. If they wish to spend a night at a village they beg as a favour from the elder of their sponsor's age-group. Elders of other age-groups present them with milk to drink. In this way the news is spread far and wide and finally the boys, now of considerable numbers, return to the elders who despatched them, taking as a gift a large quantity of honey. Then a special village is erected in which only the boys' sponsors and their families may live. The boys borrow ostrich feathers and lion mane head-dresses from the warriors and on the appointed day they collect at the elders' village.

The ceremony commences with a dance called *englkata*; for this the boys form three files, one wearing ostrich feather head-dresses, the second wearing lion mane head-dresses, and a third, of boys who have decorated their bodies with broad stripes of white earth to resemble zebras.

The latter must be quite nude; those who wish may wear thighbells. They may not carry weapons of any sort, but each carries a thin wood, the length of a spear. After much dancing, the boys form a procession and walk round inside the circle of huts following two leaders, one of whom blows a Kudu horn from time to time. The procession then halts and the leader prays aloud to *Engai Narok* —the Black God, to shower his blessings on the boys. This prayer has been taught them beforehand by the elders, many of whom stand by and prompt when necessary. When the prayers are over, the elders take the boys outside the village and spend some time instructing them in their duties to their sponsors and to the tribe. A return is then made to the village and the elders bring a fire-stick, the one called *el-piron*, also a male circumcision knife and a small dead bird. This bird may be of any kind other than a dove. The elders block the fire-stick before the assembled boys. They then place a curse upon the circumcision knife and taking the dead bird they break one of its legs and pierce one of its eyes—ceremonially as an indication of the ill which will befall any boy who dares to be circumcised before the curse is taken off the knife.

In this way, the elders formally lay claim to the sponsorship of a new age-group. From that time the boys refer to their sponsors as *Il-piron*, whilst the elders refer to the boys as *Il-piron*.

shows reluctance, as he may—for many even chooses to the office—he is aided by the boys and held until he agrees. Other boys set off to relate the news to his family. When the family has been informed the new *ilpayani* is presented with his badge of office called *el kowa* and—the black club. This club is made of olive wood. It must be quite straight and unlikely to break easily. It need not necessarily be black in colour. The club is blessed by the *Laiyoni* elders who spit honey wine over it. It is then blessed by the *Ingopiro* boys in similar fashion and handed to the *Ilpayani*. He too is spat upon in blessing and prayers are offered that he may have strength, wisdom, and long life. Later the boys present their *Ilpayani* with a heifer and a goat.

If at any time the boys go against his wishes, the *Ilpayani* may resign by throwing his club to the ground before a meeting of the boys. Should they be dissatisfied with him they may make him resign by taking away his club. They may even take away the heifer if his offence is severe.

When the boys have elected their *Ilpayani* the *Laiyoni* elders take him, together with a few boys to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesmen presented to him, and prepares for him a special medicine called *el engerenyakira*—the red bull. This the spokesmen is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine men. In addition, the spokesmen is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe. Possibly one is to prevent cinderpest in cattle, another to cause the cows to calve freely, another to prevent malaria. Usually the charms are sewn in leather bags and are always accompanied by very intricate instructions as to their use. All these charms must be paid for by those who expect to benefit. An instance was related to me of a ceremony held at Lorokiruk in 1930 for which a famous medicine man Sambuyeu supplied the charm. Its purpose was to prevent the old men of the tribe from dying until they reached a great age. Sambuyu received 40 heifers and bullocks in payment. The medicine man does not state his price but it is usual to pay generously for his services as he is a dangerous person to offend.

Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesmen are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred—and probably effects

and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior classes. That these young uninitiated lads even try to have intercourse with married women is certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase themselves. (See Marriage.)

Preparation for Initiation.—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new calf-skins, and, taking with them bows and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *olomal*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and kyrus-skin karosses, and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the councils, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the councils is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and fresh groups of boys are formed and add themselves to the number of the candidates for initiation.

During the whole time that these *olomal* groups are wandering about from village to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit (even those who are attached to young warriors), provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the warrior classes.

Ceremony of Raising the Ox by the Horns.—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and kyrus-skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of raising the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the Lukumai sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and demand a black ox without any defect and without any trace of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Lukumai sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *oreptoss*.

When the ox has been procured, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-raising ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-raising ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

francolin. These bird skins, once fixed to the hair of the head, may not be removed until the general hair-shaving ceremony, when the hair of each novice is shaved off with the skins attached. During the period of the novitiate the boys are known as *laiberton* and are free to go anywhere "like women," and, in fact, may even visit the *manyattas* or warrior villages of the existing warrior groups with impunity.

There are special dances, called *osinpoles*, which are danced by the novices alone.

The Shaving Ceremony.—When at length all the candidates have reached the novice stage, the shaving ceremony, which marks the end of the novitiate, takes place. For this ceremony the novices are assembled in territorial groups, and each boy has his hair publicly shaved off by his mother (or in the event of his mother being dead, by another of his father's wives). This shaving ceremony is accompanied by the killing of a ram for each novice, after which his father presents him with a spear, shield, sword and knobkerrie, which are the insignia of his new status as a warrior.

The new warriors now form themselves into groups, and organise the building of villages, which will be their headquarters. These villages are the *manyattas* of the warrior groups (*see* below).

PART III.—WARRIORHOOD.

The Age-Group System.—The general word denoting an age-group is *orioiuni*, and this word is liable to cause considerable confusion unless very great care is taken, as it denotes in a general way several widely different forms of age-groups. All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single ox-seizing ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group which is given a name which lasts for life. Besides this permanent name, however, the age-groups during the warrior stage are known by the alternating names of *junjionobur* and *murutpelienge*.

There may never be more than three age-groups in the warrior class at the same time; and also, a group with the name of *junjionobur* must always be the senior warrior group. This, in effect, means that a single age-group cannot be transferred from the warrior class to the elders' class, but that two groups, a *junjionobur* and a *murutpelienge*, must move out together, leaving the next *junjionobur* as senior age-group in the warrior class, and temporarily the only age-group in the class. As soon as the two senior groups have moved out together, the next group, already in the novice stage, transfers into the warrior class with the name of *murutpelienge*, and in due course yet a third group will be initiated and enter the age-group as *junjionobur*, after which no further transfer of a novice group can take

585 837 *Married Sex Life.*—Among the Masai (as already stated) a married woman's first duty to her husband is to bear him children, and husbands do not mind if their wives have intercourse with other men, provided that they do not do so actually at a time when their husbands want them themselves. Even in such a case—apart from private measures which a husband might take—there is no recognized punishment for the woman, or any legal claim against the man, provided, of course, he is a married man of a sub-clan other than the woman's own.

834 *Sex Restrictions.*—There are, of course, certain definite regulations which must be observed, the chief of which are :—

(1) No woman may have intercourse while she is with child (not even with her husband).
(2) No woman may have intercourse during the actual period of menstruation.
(3) No married woman may have intercourse with an uninitiated boy.
(4) No man in the warrior class may have intercourse with a married woman.
(5) No married man may have intercourse with an uninitiated girl.
(6) No woman may have intercourse with a man who is the son of any member of her husband's own age-group ("They are as his own sons, whatever their clan may be").
(7) As already mentioned, the rule of sub-clan company applies as much to general sex life as it does to marriage and, therefore, a woman must avoid all men of her own sub-clan.

684 PENALTIES FOR BREACHES OF THE ABOVE REGULATIONS.

Breach of No. 1.—There is no fixed punishment for a breach of this regulation, but the man would be accused of causing damage to the child, and should abortion take place later, or the child be born with any deformity, he would be held responsible.

Breach of No. 2.—There is no punishment for a breach of this regulation, but it is simply "Not done."

Breach of No. 3.—A woman who is found infringing this rule is severely punished in the following way. She is tied up and severely beaten by her husband, so that her whole skin is bruised, and then sheeps' urine is poured over the abrasions. This acid causes very severe pain for many hours. The boy is not punished, as the fault is held to be entirely that of the woman, who should know better. In actual practice the boy is expected to bring the husband a present of honey later in order to placate him, and so avoid being cursed with a very potent curse.

[434] [854]

Breach of No. 4.—There is no punishment for the woman who is found to have broken this rule, nor is there actual punishment for the man, save that if his sin is discovered he is dishonoured at once by his fellow age-group members, and even if not found out at once, his dishonourable conduct will be found out at the *Eunoto* ceremony (see p. 191), when his turn comes to enter the *Singiro*.

Breach of No. 5.—A married man who breaks this regulation and is found out is very severely punished, the punishment being left to the women of the village, who have the right to beat him and seize all his cattle.

Breach of No. 6.—The punishment for this is as for a breach of No. 5 as far as the women is concerned, and likewise the man must take beer to the aggrieved husband to avoid a curse.

Breach of No. 7.—A man who breaks this regulation is held to be solely responsible, no guilt whatever attaching to the woman. As this offence (intercourse with a member of one's own sub-clan) is the worst possible, the penalty is very severe indeed. Every animal the man possesses—cattle and sheep alike—is beaten with clubs and otherwise maimed and left to die, and if the man can be caught he is so severely beaten and maltreated that he is almost certain to die too.

The Marriage Transaction.—The usual number of animals transferred as marriage settlement are :—

1 Heifer.
1 Ox.
1 Ewe yearling.
1 Ram.
Also honey beer in large quantities.

Of these, the ram is slaughtered by the mother of the bride, who is anointed with its fat.

When a girl who has conceived before initiation is being married by a man other than the lover who was responsible for her condition, only one heifer is given (instead of the three mentioned above) at the time of the marriage, but the other two heifers must be handed over at such time as the first of her children is initiated.

Part VI.—Family Life.

The Relation of Parents to Children.—As already indicated, a man's legal children among the Masai are—as often as not—only his by virtue of his being the husband of their mother, and quite irrespective of physical parentage. Nevertheless, fathers are very proud of their children, and take considerable interest in their welfare. They must always be present at the initiation of a son or daughter, and feel very hurt if for any reason they are prevented from doing so. When a son grows up and eventually forms a village of his own, his father and the other men of the village who belong to his father's generation may not come and feed at the new village until one of them has been presented with a heifer called *ndoro* by the young man.

513 731 601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom to that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young cow or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *baabi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *baiwa*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram or else a young cow or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the same: *Ndaiwa* if the gift was a young cow, *ingisi* if the gift was a young she-goat, *mbawa* if the gift was a heifer, *ekiliawa* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of confinement attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut 607 with one of her husband's own brothers (i.e. brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts to her parents to her children as far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own 610 brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing 592 age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

589 594 (1) *Any* man of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (see above).

(2) *Any* of her late husband's half-brothers (i.e. brothers by a different mother).

(3) *Any* other men not otherwise excluded.

597 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and roots of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

Part VII.—Death and Burial.

Death.—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Protecting Lost Cattle and Sheep.—If during the day cattle or sheep stray and cannot be found before nightfall, the following interesting ceremony is performed. There are certain men and women (they are not necessarily anything to do with medicine men or witch doctors), who have the power to protect straying cattle, and as soon as a herdsman discovers that some of his animals are lost and cannot be found before dark, he sends with all haste to one of these individuals. If possible the messenger should be a small boy, and he takes with him the stuff that the herdsman of the lost cattle was carrying at the time. This stuff is handed over to the person who is to perform the protecting ceremony, which is as follows:—The stuff is taken and tied up with a leather thong removed from the "Protector's" waist, and is then placed at the head of the "Protector's" bed until the following morning. As an alternative, if there is no stuff available, a cinder is taken from the fire and is placed in a cooking pot, the mouth of which is then covered with a skin dress belonging to the "Protector," and the skin dress tied down with the leather thong. In either case, while the tying is being done certain fixed formulæ are uttered by the "Protector." These may be translated as follows: "I tie the hyæna's mouth," "I tie the lion's mouth," "I tie the leopard's mouth," "I blind the thief's eye," etc. Once this ceremony is performed the lost animals are considered safe from all dangerous animals and from thieves. In fact, even the owner would pass right by them and not notice them, for they have become invisible. 233 234 [illegible]

Next morning the animals are "released" by the "Protector" and the owner can go out and find them at once. There is no fee paid to the "Protector" for performing this ceremony, but he (or she) should be given a little meat.

Driving Out Disease.—In the case of a serious outbreak of disease, one of the more "Protectorish" is sent for to perform a "driving out" ceremony. All the cattle and sheep of the infected village are brought together into the cattle enclosure and a ceremony called "*Chuma inoonyipiko*" is performed. The "Protector" selects a young bull and a young heifer of about the same size and of the same colour (these two animals must be of a single colour and not piebald or spotted in any way). He also chooses a small boy and a small girl. He then instructs these two children to drive the two animals slowly right round the outside of the enclosure and back through the entrance to the cattle again. This "going round" ceremony is accompanied by appropriate sentences by the "Protector" bidding the disease depart, and the ceremony ends. The "Protector" is given beer as a fee. After such a ceremony any cattle disease is supposed to die out quickly.

Preventing Mating.—Among the Masai it is a common custom to put a special shield on to bulls to prevent indiscriminate mating. This shield consists of a square flap of leather which is fastened just behind the animals' forelegs by thongs which come up over the ribs and are tied in the region of the animal's back. This practice is especially common when cattle from several villages are being herded together during the day. Then when the cattle return in the evening to their respective 232 233

/43 cont./

As soon as the man marries another woman, each of his children present her with a head of small livestock and call her accordingly. ba-ger, ba-gine, ba-ndare, ba-nden, or ba-isio. The term of address for father-in-law is always ba-getsi, for mother-in-law, ba-ger.

Brother and sister call the sister and half sister en gbo. Brother and sister call the brother and half brother enijo. The form of address for the father's brother, baba; the mother's brother, abula; the sister of the father and of the mother, bido. The brother of another wife of the father is addressed as baba, if he is old; by his name if he is younger. The sister of another wife of the father is called bido if she is old; en abinok if she is younger. The latter (pl. ɔ abinwa) is also the term of address on the part of /43/ unmarried men for a woman in general. The uncle calls the nephew abula, the niece ɔ gabulija. The aunt calls both en gwai ai : my child.

For the terms of address of those relatives whom we designate as male and female cousins in the narrower and broader sense I was able to construct the following rules from a very large number of examples:

1. If the relationship is derived from the mother's father or from the husband of the father's sister through consanguinity or relationship by marriage, the boy calls his male cousin abula, boy and girl call the female cousin en gbo before her circumcision and ɔ gabulija afterwards. The same designations are customary for (friendly) members of the lineage of the mother and of the husband of the father's sister.

2. If the relationship is based on consanguinity through the father's brothers or on membership in the same lineage, the male cousin will be called nyabi by a boy, the female cousin ɔ gbo by boy and girl, both before and after her circumcision.

The girl calls any boy standing in a cousin relationship to her, according to one of the two rules, ai alaka ŋa ai : the one given (me) by God.

/40 cont./

601 605 [431] The designations abuta, en gijo, arabé, and 'a gîta are used only as long as the above-mentioned terms of address are not affected by gifts of livestock. This explains why they are used only among children. This does not apply to the address of sisters' ng ai, because the girl is not in a position to make the necessary gift of livestock.

601 The son and daughter of the brother or of the sister are addressed, as long as they remain in childhood, with ng gnai ai = my child. The address for the grandfather runs ng ainja, for the grandmother koko. The grandfather calls the grandson ng ain[']ai; [431] [651] the grandmother, koko ai. Brother-in-law and sister-in-law are called by name or the terms of address derived from livestock designations.

IV.

600 Conjugal relations. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Bride price. -- Evasion of the bride price. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Wedding. -- Beginning of the marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

531 The conjugal relationships are very loose, and in some views about them the Masai stand in unfavorable contrast to their sedentary 595 Negro neighbors. As among the latter -- and, to be sure, without exception (1) -- [971]

1. The so-called monogamy of the Wambugwe is in practice the boldest polygyny.

polygyny prevails among the Masai. The number of wives of a man is limited neither by law nor custom, but depends only on his means. If a man has but one wife, poverty is always the reason. 531 There are no temporary or trial marriages; rather, marriage is a [533] more stable relationship. The woman through the marriage passes [618] into the family of her /her/ husband, but not into his lineage; rather she retains membership in her own lineage.

/44 cont./

582 for the contemplative idleness of the married man. But before the
583 marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid first.

As bride price (an dogkis : the things, each part of them, an dogi : the thing) he first pays the bride's father five pots of honey from which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and an ox. The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The ox and the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the
[601] wedding day. Around that day, more often afterwards than before,
[561] the /45/ bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, whereupon the former call each other be-geteñ (1).

1. Cf. Second Pat. III, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other be-get from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding
585 [575] from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon
[481] the two call each other b'-aeñe. From the eldest child of her hus-
[551] band two goats or sheep, hence the address be-ninon, and from the
[601] smaller children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a sheep each, through which the address be-gine, be-ninon, or be-
583 leiñ is brought about. During the period immediately after the wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several more pots of honey, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making
[791] leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief Zeudmo he receives, as he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters, while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow with calf. Since the last disturbance it has happened not infrequently that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price. He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him on a rope twisted out of grass. Whereas the bridegroom or young married man delivers the gifts of livestock himself, he always sends the honey by a woman. She is either a wife married previously, his mother, his elder sister, or a wife of his brother. Only when the distance is very great does he deliver the honey himself,

/61 cont./

father-in-law must return the bride price if he grants his daughter admission. If the woman who has run away has had children, her husband keeps them; in this case the woman's parents do not pay back anything.

On the day the parents-in-law receive the bride price, the bridegroom gives the eldest brother of the bride a year-old heifer, each of her other brothers and each sister of the bride a male head of cattle. This is only a gift of friendship and has nothing to do with the bride price. Exchange of views occurs, but does not result in a valid marriage, any more than does wife stealing. On the other hand, it is not infrequent that the girl flees from her maternal hut as soon as she reaches marriageable age and runs to her lover. It often happens then that the girl's father sends a band of boys armed with sticks after her so that through the beating she will be induced to return. Since the boys act at the command of the old man, neither the bridegroom nor anyone else may hinder them. In order to protect the girl from such violence, only one course remains to the bridegroom, to leave the kraal with her immediately and move into the forest for a few days. With this he makes it understood that he will oppose with weapons anyone who might still venture to take his bride from him and at the same time he deprives the girl's father of any further right to object. As soon as the couple in the forest have consumed a cow, they return to the kraal, where, without further ceremony, they are recognized as married. Only the girls of the El ongomis and El ilbwaibs do not have this possibility of self-help, for both lineages believe that a girl who goes to her lover in order to remain with him as his wife without her father's consent will die in only a few days after the flight.

In olden times the bride was not supposed to belong to the tribe of her bridegroom. The livestock epidemics of the last 25 years, however, which resulted in the death of many thousands of Masai, have modified this law somewhat. Accordingly, /61/ a man may marry a woman who belongs to his tribe, but not to his lineage, whereby in individual districts there is the further prerequisite that the girl came to him of her own free will and, after being sent back

/71 cont./

56] 576 *as tiny to si mèrar ishé.*
as shkgiki to si mèrar ishé, or si mèrar. If the latter is almost the same age as her husband.
Isabe to si mèrar si mèrar.

[572] Friends often address each other with *si ilyer ist* or *si ilyer* = my friend.

Instead of the address term *'s shkgiki*, as *si lamet* or as *si mwéki* says to an *as shkgiki* whom he has known from childhood *'shkgiki* or *as shkgiki*, whereas *si mèrar* in the same case uses the address term *sabe*. The term of address "*'s shkgiki*" for an *as shkgiki* is more polite than "*shkgiki*," the latter used toward a stranger *as shkgiki* would be downright impertinent and rude (1).

1. In places the term *as shkgiki* also has the meaning "married woman"; thus, at different times I heard a young woman call out coldly to one not entitled to use this designation when he used it: "I am not your *as shkgiki*."

The elsewhere term address *as ingiki*, used for *'s shkgiki*, is often regarded nowadays as effectively polite.

[60] [56] [58] The terms of address required by kinship or lineage-gift take precedence over the above.

/To cont./

After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol eyeeni. This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol eyeeni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol lashe members there and, with them, again set out for the ol ilkesi. There a very large hut (or ol-gira enang) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol eyeeni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ol pendigo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e nerolia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e nagit) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gaia i ol nerowi). Finally all those present cheer the new ol eyeeni and cry out "Sigayeki je iffo ol gishon, that is, remain poor, bring no luck. The Maasi in general maintain that every ol eyeeni has remained poor: if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol eyeeni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by reason of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of livelihood always prevails.

After the ol eyeeni festival is over, the other ol lashe members remember back home are celebrating a long meat feast (ol bull), whereupon they /to/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol eyeeni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

/71 cont./

561 of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /71/ may choose
791 a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the
speaker, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest
ol harnet. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beauti-
ful weapons. Each ol harnet has brought along a fine herd of
• [431] cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the dele-
gates as a gift for the ol olbani. When they have then presented
their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next
day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the
name ol gierkun. The ones circumcised during the period from 1896
to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to mean: the generation
after them weakened and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the

714
411
291
531

Ill. 31. Shield ornaments of the Kimoi.

561 delegation has been dismissed by the ol olbani, they return to their
791 native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new
[714] name and then consult about the choice of a shield ornament.

[Warrior Kraal]

/91 cont./

fighting, large leg bells (of duelling kind), the clinking of which in the latter instance serves to prevent a going astray by the individual warriors and a scattering of the troops. Where the bell sounds is a rallying point.

A special position is also occupied by the ŋ gloriosi a benefactor. They are warriors who, themselves generous, also have a generous, well-to-do father. From him they often receive cows for slaughtering and then distribute the meat among their comrades and all strangers, without distinction as to age and sex. If such a benefactor is wounded in battle or if he suffers an injury elsewhere on the march or at home, the others are concerned about him and cooperate with one another to help him to the best of their ability.

Accordingly, minorities is sharply condemned, and a timid warrior or one who has unlucky parents is reared badly and, in case of illness or wounding on the way, is not infrequently left to his helpless.

Speaker and leader live like other warriors and are not surrounded by any special ceremonial. Off duty they are treated with respect, which is shown especially by the fact that people avoid coming too close to their girls or lightly seizing an excuse for a quarrel with them. Among the other warriors there two things almost daily lead to serious disputes and often enough to duelling, in which the opponents go after each other with sword and club, but only very rarely wound each other seriously. If this should happen sometimes, in a few districts the wounded one receives from the victor a fine consisting of livestock; in other districts, only if a bone is broken. In general immediately after the duel /92/ reconciliation follows, the formality of which consists of the mutual exchange of sandal thongs and sometimes also the exchange of the skin caps (a mongiti). The matter becomes more serious if one is killed in a duel. Then the father of the victor is then condemned to pay a larger number of cattle. If he hands them over, the affair is settled. If he refuses them, however, the friends of the man killed attack his kraal and rob him of his entire herd. But they have scarcely brought them home before the friends of the one killed also try to recover them again. This goes on until they have become tired

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/91 cont./

Ill. 91. German camp on the war march.

the time for the attack. /92/ The leader of the section is one of the above-mentioned bearlarism, recognizable by an ornament called *el dengla* or *el gebelo*, which consists of strings of iron or glass beads and is worn around the right lower-arm, a gift of those who have benefited by his generosity.

Accompanying the warrior are one or more surgeons *tal zibbo*, *el zibbo*, whose duty is the immediate treatment of the wounded. They choose their "dressing station" approximately half an hour from the battlefield on an elevation made known and easy to find.

Toward midnight the spies *tal sigadelam*, *el sigadelish* set out to go to Kaka. On the way they adapt their ornaments in clothing and ornaments as much as possible to that of the Wolaitta and take /93. It appears here/ shield and spear along the way. With enviable self-assurance they move about among the foreign populace, trading in their ornaments. With a little fresh cattle dung and a few cut bush planted from the Kaka cattle, as proof that they have actually seen cattle, they return to the warriors in great haste.

yellow long-tailed monkey (*Cercopithecus cynosuros*, at Akaka), the black long-tailed monkey (*C. ellioti*, at Akaka), the ivory bridge (*Heliosus spec.*, at Isoki), and a few other wooden animals.

Around the right wrist, often covering almost the entire lower arm, those women who are gamesse and benevolent, the *I gamesse*, wear a cuff (Fig. 56) that consists of rows of iron beads (*ni dorogbo* or *ni gaberesi*) put close together, to whose place in more recent times silver ordinary small -- especially blue -- glass beads. The iron beads are made by pounding flat small wire rings and then putting them, strung on this strips of deep leather, around the lower arm and knotted on the inner side of the arm. Those people who constantly enjoy the kindnesses of the *I gamesse* express their gratitude from time to time by giving a string of such beads, as they, in one suit, the ornament often extends almost to the elbow. Most rarely does among women, the ornament is also found on one or another of the young girls living in the wooden house. If a girl has no brother belonging to the wooden society, but does have a wealthy father, she receives from the latter both cuffs and an ornament

55. 47. Arm and leg ornaments of the women.

[illegible] /[illegible] cow./

piece of doughnut-[illegible]. She then generously distributes milk and cream and thus acquires the position of benefactress.

The arms and legs of a beauty, except for the thighs, are each [illegible] more or less complete series of tubes of iron wire, which often leave only the knee and elbow free, while among poorer women this adornment dwindles to a few rings. These tubes are called as *engalgal* - iron wire, and are differentiated according to their location as an *engalgal* of bracelets for the upper arm, an *engalgal* of anklets for the lower arm, an *engalgal of anaclan* - what is worn on the lower leg (below the knee). This ornament, like the neck spiral (as *engalgal* a *suan*), /[illegible]/ is wound directly onto the body part in question and can therefore not be taken off, but only unwound again, which usually does not occur until death. The weight of the ornamentation seriously impairs the mobility of the women and not infrequently gives them a waddling gait.

[illegible] Warriors in dance ornamentation wear around their hips a leather strap embroidered with small beads (*ebg gas ne-beidik*; *ebg gas is say wasp, ase beidik* = the hip). Little girls also wear a [illegible] (*ne-ulael asap*): it does have a row of small shells to hear on a fig leaf and is called as *dael* (pl. as *daelik*). Older girls and women wear around their hips as well-wide belt likewise knitted with beads (Fig. 97), which holds the leather apron together. Boys and younger men of rank wear below the knee and above the calf a ring made out of white goat's hide, with an end five centimeters long and one centimeter wide hanging down in front and in back (Fig. 98), and around each ankle a small bell (as *dadil*, pl. *[illegible]*; Figs. 97-99) appear here/ *dadilik* [Fig. 98]; cast as with a little strap, which, by its widely audible rattle in the silent steppe, is supposed to frighten off predatory animals lying in the grass. Finally with the war and dance ornamentation belong the long-haired black and white strips of skin (*a rabagan*; *a rabagan*) that the warriors tie around their ankles and that are made out of the skin of the white-haired rabbits (*Lepus rabbitus*).

[714 cont.]

the full debt, not only up to the amount of the inherited property. If a warrantor is liable for the debt, he must satisfy the creditor if the debtor is unable to pay and, through that, becomes a creditor of the debtor himself. The liability of the warrantor does not end with his death, but passes on to his heir.

931 The reciprocareare of a gift is a rule basic to the giver and therefore never occurs. Giving is followed by counter-giving, except when the thing given was solicited by the ol mentat - divine judgment. The blood is put into the awkward position of having to ask in this way only if, for example, on an expedition of war, he has come a long way from his home district and finds no members of his lineage in the local to which he has come. The petitioner hangs from the roof of the hut of the one from whom he wishes to have a head of cattle a meat with the legs upward, or he wraps the legs of the meat or a bow with grass. This type is more urgent than the former, since the request must be granted before the grass dries. The ol mentat is a divine judgment. A person who does not grant the request expressed in the ol mentat sign will soon be punished by Ng ol through death or illness. A person who did not grant the request until after the grass had dried has himself absolved, for his own peace of mind, by a gathering of old men whom he entertains with a head of cattle and heavy beer. It is believed that by the observance of this formality and by the statement of absolution of the old men God, too, has forgiven the sin. Upon handing over a gift, the giver always spits on it.

Loans or contracts are unknown. The creditor does not have a right to the corpse of the debtor; neither debts nor sins committed by the deceased have an influence on the nature of his burial.

No distinction is made between murder and manslaughter, but there is one between these and negligent homicide. If murder was committed by a boy or warrior, it is expiated by blood revenge carried out by boys and warriors or only by warriors. Any brother of the one murdered is first of all entitled to carry out the blood revenge and, further, any man belonging to the family. Blood